The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

EDITED BY THE
REV. CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D., Ph.D.,
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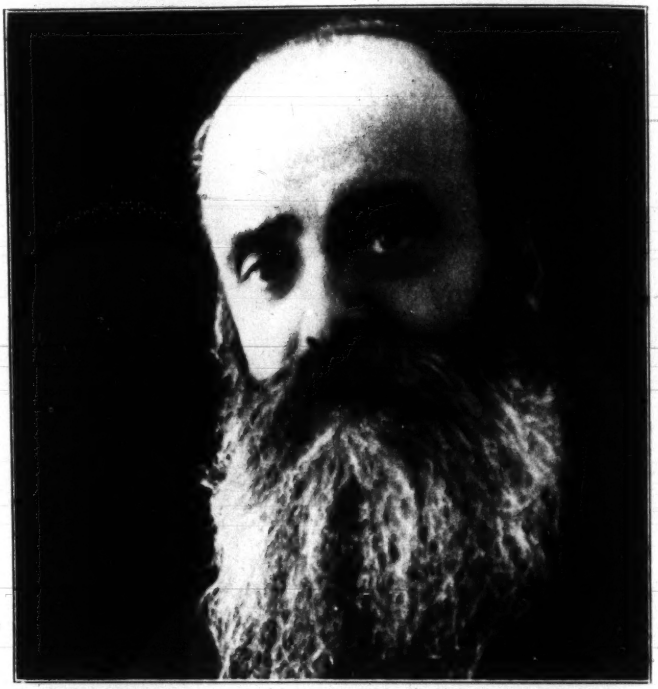

THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AT THE ARMENIAN MONASTERY ST. JAMES, JERUSALEM

The Christian East

THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM.

By DIRAN NERSOYAN.

AS early as the fourth century of the Christian era, the Armenians were to be found in Palestine in large numbers, as devoted pilgrims eager to visit the Holy Places, and in the following century they established monasteries on Mount Sinai and Mount Tabor.

In Jerusalem and its neighbourhood many religious establishments were founded by them with the pious aim of sheltering the Armenian pilgrims who came yearly from all parts of Armenia.

These Armenian institutions remained until A.D. 614 when the Persian invasion swept over Jerusalem, and put to the sword all its Christian population, including the Armenians, and destroyed and burnt all the monuments of the city.

The pious sons of Armenia succeeded under great difficulties in regaining their footing in Jerusalem immediately after the first Arab invasion. They built monasteries on the Mount of Olives and Mount Zion. The beautiful Armenian mosaics, which form the floor of the monastery erected on the Mount of Olives, and the tombstones, are speaking witnesses of their past glory.

It is probable that Mount Zion did not suffer as much as other parts of Jerusalem from the attacks of the enemy. The Armenians were fortunate in being able to safeguard and retain their sanctuary of St. James where the head of the Apostle St. James the Great is buried. On the site of this sanctuary, the seat of St. James the Less, First Bishop of Jerusalem, we see to-day the splendid cathedral erected in the eleventh century.

After the conquest of the Holy Land by Sultan Saladin (1187), the monastery of St. James, with its churches of the Holy Archangel and of the Holy Saviour and their convents, all clustered on Mount Zion, became the centre of the Armenian congregation.

Its religious head was recognized as "Patriarch" by the Khalifs of Egypt as attested by the Firmans granted at the time. Later, during the Turkish domination, the same title and the privileges attached to it were confirmed and enjoyed uninterruptedly by the titularies. Many of them had to suffer at different periods from oppression and persecutions at the hands of the

exacting functionaries ruling the land; with the result that often the Armenian monasteries were crushed under the burden of heavy debts.

In the seventh century, according to some authorities, the Armenian Bishops of Jerusalem obtained the title of Patriarch, and there is a record of the Patriarch Zacharias being taken prisoner by Chrosroes. In 1006 the Patriarch was Arsen; in 1311, Sarkis (Sergius). The jurisdiction of the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem extends over the Gregorian Armenians in Palestine, Cyprus, and parts of Syria.

The Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem is the supreme head of the Armenian congregation of St. James, which congregation stands towards the Armenian Church and nation in the same relation as the Order of the Franciscans towards the Holy See of Rome and the Catholic world, or as the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem towards the Greek Church and the Orthodox world. The Armenians have a community of several hundreds and enjoy the ownership or part-ownership of several of the Holy Places. The Armenian Cathedral of St. James the Less, together with a vast Patriarchate, schools, chapels and gardens, occupies most of the south-west corner of the old city.

St. James, the first apostolic martyr, the burial place of whose head is shown in a shrine, is in the great Armenian Convent, the doors of which are richly inlaid with tortoise-shell and nacre. The very chair used by the Apostle is also shown, and, as a great favour, and to specially distinguished visitors, some of the interesting objects preserved in the treasury of the convent, and consisting of ancient vestments, mitres, and valuable copies of the Armenian liturgies and gospels, and the amber sceptre of the Armenian King Hetum, etc., are exhibited by special permission of the Patriarch.

In the central hall of the college, there is also an interesting collection of objects from various countries, whilst on the walls of the Patriarch's great reception room there hang good pictures of various European monarchs, and also replicas, made by one of his predecessors, of the beautiful "Shield of Hamza" which, a quarter of a century ago, was still to be seen in the Dome of the Rock, but has now mysteriously disappeared from there. Hamza was the uncle of Mohammed.

The convent, originally founded by the Georgians in the eleventh century, was sold by them to the Armenians four hundred years later. It can, it is said, accommodate from 3,000 to 4,000 pilgrims, and contains a printing press. On the walls there are quaint and grim old fresco-paintings representing the sufferings of the martyrs, the Last Judgment, and also pictures of various saints.

The present occupant of the See is his Beatitude Archbishop Thorgom Koushagian.

He was born in 1874, in the Village Partizac, not far from Constantinople. In 1890 he entered the College of Armash, of which Archbishop M. Ormanian (later Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople), was the director, and Vrd. Elisee Tourian was the headmaster.

In 1896 Archbishop Thorgom, then called Mgrdich, graduated and received ordination from Ormanian, and was appointed professor of Armenian language and theology in the same College. Eight years later he was promoted to superiorship of the College and the Community of Armash. Here he continued very successfully the work begun by Ormanian and carried on by Tourian (late Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem), for the higher education of the Armenian clergy, and by his efforts, made the institution self-supporting.

In 1907 he was elected prelate of Sivas, an important diocese, of which three years later he became the bishop. There he put the work of Church organization in a sound condition; promoted educational work by reopening Sanassarian College in Sivas, and also prepared the systematized catalogue of a fairly large library of manuscripts in the same city.

In 1914 he was translated from the bishopric of Sivas to that of Egypt. For 17 years he has governed the Armenian Church in Egypt with remarkable ability. On his initiative several school buildings and churches have been erected. In the time of distress during the Great War he devoted his whole energy to the relief of the refugees encamped at Port Said, and later to the work of raising money from well-to-do Armenians for the Armenians left in Turkey after the great disaster of the World War. With the same purpose he went to India, as a legate appointed by His Holiness the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin. He created fresh enthusiasm among the Armenians of India for their Church and Nation, and brought with him important contributions for the help of the distressed.

In 1918 (March) The British Military Administration of Palestine invited him to Jerusalem to be present at the first Easter celebration under British rule. Three years later he came a second time as the representative of the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople to attend to the accession of Archbishop Tourian to the Apostolic See of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

In 1929 he was appointed Representative-Plenipotentiary of His Holiness the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin over all the Armenians of Europe. In this capacity he made a tour of Europe, and presented a report to His Holiness embodying suggestions for the reorganization of the Armenian Church in Europe. But this

work was left in abeyance on account of the death of the Catholicos, and the hostile attitude of the Armenian Soviet Government towards the central See of the Armenian Church at Etchmiadzin.

Apart from his extensive activity in the field of Armenian Church life, Archbishop Thorgom has had a brilliant career in the literary sphere as well. He knows Armenian (classical and modern) as a scholar, Turkish, French and some English. For twelve years he has lectured on theological and other subjects at Armash. At the same time he has made translations of some important French books. Besides many memoirs and minor literary works we have from his pen, *Khrimian Hairik; On the Path of the Gospel;* translations of St. Gregory of Nareg's *Prayer Book of Tragedy; Life of Patriarch Tourian; On the Armenians of India,* etc.

On the 16th of June of this year Archbishop Thorgom was elected, by an almost unanimous vote, Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem.

THE CANONIZATION OF SAINTS IN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.

IN a letter dated November 10th, 1930, His Beatitude the Patriarch of Bucharest and all Roumania, Mgr Myron, requested His All-Holiness to indicate to him the practice followed by the Œcumenical Patriarchate when a Christian is recognized and proclaimed as a Saint after death, and the form of service which is used in such a case. The Synodical committee on Canonical questions, to which the study of the above question was referred, drew up the following Report.

REPORT OF THE SYNODICAL COMMITTEE.

The heaven-treading Paul himself gives the definition of a saint when he says of his own self:—" I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." (Gal. II, 20.)

Of course it is to be understood that human holiness is only relative, for Christ said " None is good (holy, sinless), save one; that is God." St. Chrysostom explains this relativity thus: "It is impossible for a man to be sinless" (Hom. VI on Poor Lazarus. Migne. 48. 1. 1041). This mystical union with Christ is at once both the fruit of a God-pleasing life and the source of new perfection in Christ. But the mystical and interior life not being always known and altogether comprehensible to men, the Church has required indisputable external testimonies on the basis of which she may be assured and declare herself respecting the holiness of this or that of her members.

The first proof is that anyone should shed his blood for the faith in Christ concerning Whom he believed rightly and to Whom he was devoted with his whole soul. That is the true confession which is sealed with blood. The Apostolic Constitutions say as follows respecting the martyrs: " Concerning the martyrs we say that they are in all honour amongst us; the blessed James and our holy fellow-deacon Stephen are honoured by us."

A second proof of holiness is to have confessed the faith, not unto death but amidst many tortures and oppressions. Hence arose the Order of Confessors who were ready to sacrifice their lives for the good confession if this had been necessary.

The Confessors were created like the martyrs—as is natural—during the persecutions when the Church of Christ was deprived of external peace. It does not follow, however, from this that the saints of God are drawn from these two classes only. In every period, whether of peace or persecution there have appeared those who were indisputably tested, the sanctified, the holy fathers, the shepherds and teachers of the Church, " the bloodless emulators

of the confessors and martyrs and conquerors in word and deed," as the Patriarch Philotheos most clearly expresses it. (Migne. 151. 1. 711).

Nektarios of Jerusalem (1602-1676), in his refutations of the Friars of Jerusalem, lays down in a concrete manner the essential elements of holiness of each order, but especially of the third: "There are three things which testify to true holiness in men; first blameless orthodoxy, second attainment of all virtues, amongst which is resistance on behalf of the faith unto death, and finally the manifestation on God's part of supernatural signs and miracles." And the above-mentioned Patriarch Philotheos, in his Panegyric on Gregory of Palama (during his second Patriarchate in 1369), after speaking of the wonderful and angelic life of Gregory, added also the following: "And I cherish and honour him too as a saint from his miracles which he worked after his passing hence to God, making his tomb a fountain of healing." (Migne. 151. 1. 711).

St. Chrysostom too in his 26 Homily on Cor. II, speaks of the healing power of the holy relics in the Saints. "Seest thou the healing power of the saints even after death?" And St. Augustine in the seventh chapter of Bk. VIII of his Confessions and St. Basil the Great in his Commentary on Ps. 159, refer to the healing power of the relics of the saints. "Now he who touches the bones of a martyr receives a certain share of holiness from the grace residing in the body." (Migne. 3. 1. 122). The Church, whether understood in a general or a particular sense,[1] officially proclaims saints. The common consciousness of the shepherds and the flock discerns and affirms those who are really saints. The assembly of pastors—a great or small Synod—officially proclaims saints. See what the same Philotheos says about the canonization of Gregory of Palama which, we know, was performed in Synod. "We have proclaimed him a Saint, not waiting for the summoning of very great Synods and (the giving of common) votes, which are often intercepted by time and sluggishness and tardiness and many other human things, but being satisfied with the decree and proclamation from above and the sight of things which are manifest and cannot be called in question." (Migne. 154. 1. 648).

There have always been and are now both local and catholic saints. The kind of ecclesiastical authority competent to proclaim saints frequently depends on this characteristic of the saints. "Each province, each city celebrates with special zeal its particular martyrs and saints, but the whole Church regarding those who are most distinguished amongst them as her own property, has honoured and revered them as catholic saints." In July, 1662, a great Synod of Metropolitans, Archbishops, Bishops and

1 i.e. The Church as a whole or any particular local church (trans.).

most learned clergy, meeting under the presidency of the Patriarch Cyril Lucaris, proclaimed Gerasimos the Younger (1579-1599), a saint. There were present also the Patriarchs, Joachim of Antioch and Theophanes of Jerusalem.

" The pious assembly (of the church Authorities) taking into consideration the good results of honouring those who lived according to the will of God, used to expose their deeds and achievements in pictures and sermons . . . following therefore the common custom of the Church we decree and define and prescribe in the Holy Spirit . . . That the aforesaid Gerasimos should be honoured by annual sacred festivals and ceremonies." Pat. Cod. A. p. 66.

Although that great Synod had proclaimed Gerasimos a Catholic saint " not only in the island of Cephalonia, but in all the holy churches from one end of the world to another," yet the local character of the said saint prevailed. It is to be noted that miracles were certified as having been wrought by the holy relics of Gerasimos, on which account Jeremiah II.—at the request of the inhabitants of Cephalonia, " permitted the translation of his relics and their exposition for general veneration." Consequently it is requisite for the proclamation of a saint that the governing body of the Church should consider in Synod the course of life of the individual who is proposed as a saint, with special regard to the elements of holiness and after a searching examination and verification that the said elements were present should issue the relative Deed. The Synod in Russia in 1547 lays most stress on the examination in Synod of the genuineness of the miracles, on the life and on the right faith; the Bishop of the place where those who were proposed as saints had distinguished themselves, being deputed as principal examiner. It was on the basis of these principles that the Russian Synod acted in 1549 in the canonization of certain individuals.

After this the annual festival of the new Saints having been settled, an Office is drawn up in harmony with the form of life on earth of the newly proclaimed Saint and agreeable to those general ecclesiastical rules which govern the sung Offices of Saints.

At the Patriarchate. February 20, 1931.

THE CANONICAL COMMITTEE.

✠ Kallinicos of Cyzicus.
✠ Benjamin of Nicea.
✠ Agathangelos of Chalcedon.
✠ Ambrose of Derkos.
✠ Nicodemos of Brousa.
✠ Gennadios of Heliopolis.
✠ Maximos of Philadelphia.

LETTER OF THE PATRIARCH.

Most Blessed and Holy Archbishop of Bucharest, Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia and Patriarch of the Autokephalous Orthodox Church of Roumania, greatly beloved and very dear brother in Christ and fellow-minister of our Humility, Lord Myron, embracing your venerable Beatitude fraternally in the Lord, we address you most sweetly :—

We have duly received the brotherly letter of your venerable Beatitude, of November 19 . . . and, together with our Holy and Sacred Synod have studied with great attention the question contained therein, concerning the order observed amongst us in the recognition and the proclamation of saints, and the official or traditional form (of service) in use amongst us at the Proclamation. Proceeding now gladly to the requisite answer we inform your Beatitude as follows :—

In accordance with our tradition the following general principles are followed in the recognition and placing amongst the Choir of Saints of the church, of persons glorified by God.

1. The verification of the elements of holiness must be made by a Synod, composed of all the Metropolitans, Archbishops, Bishops, and official clergy of the particular church.

2. This verification is superfluous in the case of those holy persons whom the general consciousness of the Church—of both shepherds and flock—has for long ages recognized and celebrated as such. Of such holy persons who have been tacitly recognized up till now as sanctified and glorified by God, a merely formal recognition is given by the Church in accordance as we have said above.

3. At the proclamation there is a proper ecclesiastical procedure of which the enclosed copy of the Procedure in the consecration of St. Gerasimos the Younger—which took place under the blessed Patriarch Cyril Lucaris at the beginning of the 17th century—may serve as an example.

4. The Deed of Proclamation is solemnly signed in the church, the proper ecclesiastical ceremony being as follows :—

The whole Synod having come down into the Church and the Book of the Gospels being placed in the centre, the following troparia are sung :—" Blessed art thou, O Christ our God," " When He (the Holy Spirit) descended," then the Deed of Proclamation is signed by all the members of the General Synod who are present and immediately after are sung the troparia " Holy martyrs who fought well," " The tortures of the saints which they suffered for Thee," " The blood of Thy martyrs throughout the world."

5. At a convenient time a special and suitable Office, within

the framework of the hymnology and ceremonial of the Orthodox Churches, is naturally composed for the most noteworthy of the canonized saints, for use in the churches.

6. Of equal necessity is the translation of the relics, if such are preserved, and their anointing with Holy Chrism. At the translation of the relics it is customary to have vigil services and solemn liturgies. And thus we have answered the questions of your Venerable Beatitude.

Rejoicing that the grace of God does not cease to accompany the most holy sister Church of Roumania, especially by the appearance in her from time to time of new and glorious saints for the sanctification and strengthening of her faithful people, we pray for her always rich divine gifts and all goodness and glory in all things. Your Venerable Beatitude's beloved brother in Christ.

✠ PHOTIOS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

"ONE HOLY, CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH."

By Professor Bulgakov.

"I BELIEVE in one holy, catholic (*'soborny'*), apostolic Church" . . . In this article of the Nicene Creed its very existence is defined as a subject of faith, which is "the evidence of things not seen" (Heb. XI:1), though the Church is understood as an objective fact as well. According to the first meaning the Church is an invisible, mystical life, which can be grasped only by an inner feeling, as a participation in the Divine life of Grace. But at the same time it is an external organization with visible forms and limits. This merging of the visible and the invisible sides of the divine and human nature, this unity of both, is the most characteristic feature of the nature of the Church. In this sense one can say that the nature of the Church is *symbolic*—the outward and the inward being grafted into a single reality. It is equally true and equally untrue to affirm that the Church has a merely invisible or a merely visible existence, because it is an invisible, mysterious life expressed in visible, external forms. In this sense the life in the Church is in itself a perpetual sacrament of sacraments, while sacramental life in the Church is only a particular expression of this its general character.

This mysterious unity of the divine and human life of the Church, its symbolic character, is expressed in the Creed in four conceptions, which express both the visible and the invisible sides in their inter-relationship. These conceptions are not accidental or arbitrary, but inner and necessary sequels to the existence of the Church, and they must be understood as such a revelation of it. The Church is such, because it cannot be otherwise—it cannot be "*not* one," "*not* holy," and so on. Let us examine these features in order.

The Church is one—this is an axiom of the doctrine of the Church, and is self-evident to every Christian, as it is said by the Apostle: "*there is* one body and one Spirit even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all" (Eph. IV:3-5). If Christ is One so is His body; and if the Holy Spirit is One, so is the life of the Church as well. There never existed anybody who was able to deny this mystical oneness of the Church, as of an invisible organism, or as of the body of Christ. All the difficulties arise when we turn from the invisible to the visible Church. We are here first of all faced with the fact of the multiplicity of different local, national and even family churches, as we find it already in the time of St. Paul: "the churches of Asia salute you.

Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord with the church that is in their house" (I Cor. XVI:19) and so on. And this multiplicity of local churches is even blessed by our Saviour, Who sent the Apostles to teach *all nations* (Matt. XXVIII:19) without any suppression of their particular life. It is quite natural that we find already from the beginning of our era many different churches. What is the relationship between *the Church* and these many *churches* from the point of view of the oneness of the Church? There does not exist any contradiction between this oneness and the fact of the existence of different, particular churches, because it is the one and same life in Christ through the Holy Spirit, and the same one Church which exists in many local churches—an invisible unity in visible multiplicity. Christ Himself and faith in Him—that is the real πέτρα, the rock upon which Christ has built His Church (Matt. XVI:18). While in relation to the individual (local) life of the Church, it is said by our Saviour: "where two or three are gathered in My Name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. XVIII:20). This oneness of the life in the Church does not allow of the different local or particular churches remaining separated or independent. The tendency naturally exists of transforming this oneness into a kind of uniformity and exterior reunion. This reunion is developed by degrees in history. Beginning from sub-apostolic times, there arise new, vast, and complicated organizations of the Church's life. Certainly their origin is only *ex iure ecclesiastico*, not *ex iure divino*, and is a result of the historical process. This process of centralization, or concentration of churches, nowhere else attains to such a degree as in the Western Church—in Roman Catholicism. According to its doctrine the unity of the Church finds its necessary expression in the monarchical power of the Pope, and this ecclesiastical monarchy—*ex iure divino*—is the rock upon which the Church is founded. The Orthodox Church has never gone so far in the direction of the unification or concentration of the Church's life. On the contrary, it not only denied the pretensions of the Roman See to universal power in the Church, but any attempt to achieve any such concentration of power. For it the degree of concentration always remained a question of practical needs, but there always existed *many* churches, and their existence was justified only by historical reasons and not dogmatically. The Eastern Church does not connect the interior oneness of the Church with the necessity of an external unity or uniformity of the Church's government. It leaves to the different local churches their local, national or cultural peculiarities. The Orthodox Church is not a uniformity, but a symphonical unity in multiplicity. In practice this means that in the womb of the *one* Orthodox Church there exist many (about 11) autonomous

churches, instead of the single monarchy of the Roman Church in Western Catholicism. But this multiplicity by no means implies a complete absence of connection between the different local churches, or their absolute independence from one another. Such an idea of congregationalist or independent churches is absolutely foreign to the Orthodox Church. On the contrary, it is impossible for any Orthodox community to remain estranged from the whole Orthodox Church. It is necessary for it to be recognized by the whole Orthodox world and to be in brotherly communion—directly or indirectly—with all the Orthodox Churches. In the contrary case it will be a schism or heresy. The oneness of the Church is in practice affirmed and realized by this mutual recognition and certain relations between the churches. These relations express themselves according to historical needs and possibilities in different forms—from Œcumenical Councils to interchange of letters, or mutual intercommunion. But the Orthodox Church remains always as *one,* not only mystically, but as an organization as well, namely—as a federation of organizations. This union has its inner motives which are not to be changed. They are the unity of the faith—in the dogmatic teaching or doctrine, in the sacramental life and in the hierarchy of apostolic succession. Without complete dogmatic unanimity and identity of sacraments unity does not exist. Nor could unity exist without the hierarchy which is based on direct apostolic succession. Every Church must have a bishop as its head, *sine episcopo nulla ecclesia,* and a bishop must be consecrated by other bishops. This requirement in every particular case necessitates a link with other bishops and through them with the whole of the Church. Every bishop of a local church belongs not only to this community, but to the whole of the Church. Every bishop has, therefore, an œcumenical character, his bishop's power *in solidam* (according to the expression of St. Cyprian). As the bishop is the representative of his church, in his person the whole of his church participates in mutual relations. This kind of Church unity seems to correspond most of all to the character of the primitive church, which has as head "the twelve" apostles of Christ. These "twelve" in contact with the "presbyters," as the representatives of the people or laymen, governed the Church as it is described in the Acts, and their apostolic council decided the most important questions of the Church's life. Amongst them there was a "first one,"—St. Peter, as a senior, but that priority did not mean his authority or power over the other apostles, but only a privilege of honour or of moral weight. He was a *primus inter pares,* and the same type of organization of unity existed and exists in the Orthodox Church. The multiplicity of many autonomous or autokephalous churches, which are closely related to each other,

does not contradict the ideal of Church unity, for Roman centralization is not the only and necessary expression of it, for unity of life does not mean a uniformity. Romanism in fact denies the real unity of the Church, because instead of unity it puts the centralized Church of Rome alone, for the whole world.

Yet we have now not only external divisions of different autonomous parts of the one Church, but its internal divisions as well. The Church is one and must be one, while now, as a matter of fact, we have several different churches and denominations. Still, ever since the great schism of the Eastern and Western Churches, the Church was divided, and these divisions were multiplied more and more in the subsequent history of the Church. In the face of these divisions where is the *one* Church? Where is the *true* Church, amongst the many churches, which must be one, because the truth is one? The easiest way of answering this question would be by giving two opposite extreme opinions. The first answer is, that all churches or denominations are equally right and equally belong to the Church, and equally represent it even in their separate existence. The second opinion is that no denomination is the true Church, except for the *one* which contains the truth, and apart from it there is no Church. Both opinions exist in the modern mind, and seem to exclude each other mutually as opposite ones. But from the point of view of any separate denomination there does not exist a single church which is not in itself conscious of maintaining the truth—for that is its only justification. And it is really difficult in our days to deny any one church's actual being, so far as any Christian denomination, which is now inspired by the ideal of reunion, is concerned. It is necessary to combine and co-ordinate both these extreme and opposite views by acknowledging simultaneously both the existence of the one true Church, and some kind of true Church existence for different denominations. But the difficulty is that the truth is exclusive and in this sense intolerant, it cannot agree to any compromise. Such a compromise we see in the branch theory, according to which the one Church exists divided into three different parts—Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism and Eastern Orthodoxy. According to it all the three are in some sense equivalent as an expression of the Church's life, while at the same time each one of them is one-sided and in a sense not true. Such sceptical relativism means nothing else but the absence of the true Church and the impossibility of the appearance of the Church's pure truth in the world. Such a view means that the true Church has become *lost* in the course of history, and instead of the pure truth we have only fragments of it. This teaching is a contradiction to the promise of our Saviour that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. XVI:18). In spite of the Church

divisions and schisms, the pure truth of the Church in its teaching, sacraments and hierarchy is preserved, and that is so in the Orthodox Church which keeps the Church's tradition without any additions, or interruptions, or changes. The Orthodox Church is the true Church for the whole of the Christian world. This affirmation does not mean that the Orthodox peoples have already realized in their life and history the truth of Orthodoxy. On the contrary, it might be said that though the truth is given them, they have not given themselves to the truth. Their life was and is a mixture of Orthodoxy and paganism. Perhaps there never existed an historical people who could be honoured by the name of a really Christian Orthodox people in their life. In the historical sense true Orthodoxy still remains as a task of the future. In the field of God wheat and tares grow together until the harvest, but abundance of human sin does not prevent the possession of the Church's truth. This sinfulness permits the possibility of schisms even within the Orthodox Church itself. Certainly such schisms are superficial, for they touch merely relations of separate Orthodox Churches (bodies), but not the teaching or doctrine, or hierarchical traditions. All this is a result of human imperfection, nothing more, and in spite of this the Orthodox Church remains one in the depth of its mystical and spiritual life. But what is the relation between Orthodoxy and non-Orthodoxy, or all the Christian confessions outside it? Does there exist a kind of inner unity between them? Does the Church remain really one, if real life merely sees divisions of the Church?

If the Church was merely an external organization, we should necessarily conclude that the Church's unity was lost, because of the fact of divisions. But the Church is first of all an inner, mystical life in Christ, His Body, always receiving grace and inspiration from the Holy Ghost. Therefore it must be recognized that there exists an invisible, mysterious unity of the whole Church, which is built upon the rock of a living faith, confessed by Peter: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matt. XVI:16). In some sense the whole of Christianity is one Church and accordingly this unity is Orthodox. We come here to the idea of "the Orthodox Church beyond the limits of the Orthodox Church." There exists a common treasure of Christian life, of love and faith and hope, which makes all Christianity kindred. This consciousness lies at the basis of its common seeking for Unity. This tendency can be only understood as a manifestation of this inner unity, it strives to accomplish in external life that which is given as an inner norm of Christianity "that they all may be one" (John XVII:21). Unity becomes for Christianity a duty, an aim, an inner necessity. Though there exists, amongst the different divisions of Christianity, a section

of it which preserves the true tradition of the Church, without any deprivation or loss, yet the life of this part cannot be complete and perfect. For as long as the Church cannot overcome its inner divisions, the true fullness of Church life is hindered and even rendered impossible, in spite of the fact of the purity of the Church's tradition in Orthodoxy. A part cannot be equal to the whole. The Church has the call to be "one fold" under "One Shepherd" (John X:16). Certainly as a mystical reality the Church's life is one—it remains the same for any two or three who are gathered in the name of Jesus Christ, as well as for a great national or Œcumenical Church. The Church's life has, as it were, two dimensions—not only depth, but breadth, must be satisfied, and any schism, any division, means a minimizing of this œcumenical feeling of the *one* Church. Our soul has a mystical organ of the feeling of one Church—not only as of a mystical body, but as a social and historical one, and both feelings are identified in us. In this sense one can say that the feeling of the one Church, which existed before the division of the Eastern and Western Church, was a fuller, richer and more real one than we have now. This period in the history of the undivided Church remains for us a lost paradise, which must be regained again. The general question is now being raised: whether these divisions and schisms really did split the Church to its depth, completely destroying its unity, or does this unity still exist, unbroken, to some extent? There exist varying stages, or kinds, of Church unity, which are not abstract but concrete historical and canonical facts. Interior unity may be associated with external division. All the divisions of the Church from the Orthodox point of view, are different degrees of a falling away from the truth of Orthodoxy, but in spite of them they preserve its inner seed. All Christianity, as such, remains more or less Orthodox in its faith and its being, and the movement to Reunion may be nothing other than a restoration of the fullness of Orthodoxy and a removal of deterioration in it. The true unity of the Church may be found only in Orthodoxy, because Orthodoxy is the true Church. This does not mean that all other churches and denominations ought to be simply incorporated or swallowed up by any local Orthodox Church, or joined on to it, or that it can be achieved by separate personal conversions. Certainly, a kind of external reunion, or intercommunion with the historic Orthodox Churches will naturally be one of the inevitable steps on the way, but this reunion would have no decisive significance, in the sense it would in Roman Catholicism. The restoration of Orthodoxy, or the return to the life of the undivided Church, must be first achieved in the inner life of different Churches. In that sense it can be said that Anglicanism in its tendency towards the restoration of the ancient Church, as a reaction to

Protestantism, is already becoming more and more Orthodox, and this process is naturally a way to its reunion with historic Orthodoxy. And, generally speaking, there exists no other way to reunion than a restoration of Orthodoxy in the inner life, because "being one" for the Church really means "being Orthodox." The unity of the Church and its Orthodoxy are synonymous: this does not mean a kind of Orthodox proselytism, as would be the case with the Roman Church. Such proselytism is excluded for Orthodoxy straight away for the reason that the Orthodox Church itself is not one in its external organization. It is a reunion of many local and national churches. Because of this fact it never pretends to conquer or annex other local or national churches, it leaves them full freedom and autonomy, it only wishes them to restore in their life the fullness of the undivided Church, that is to become Orthodox. Unity in Orthodoxy is not obedience to one church's power, but one life in love, and freedom and holiness.

Being in the Church means life in holiness, because the Church is *holy* and its members are holy (*ἅγιοι*), as they are named by St. Paul in his Epistles. What do we mean when we express our faith in the Church as a holy one? This holiness is not an external or accidental attribute of it, for it expresses the very substance of the Church as of the divine life in us. Everything belonging to the Church is holy by this holiness of the Church. The Church is holy because God is holy, "Be ye holy, for I am holy" says the Lord (Lev. XII :44). The Church is the Body of Christ, Who lives in it, in His holy humanity. It is the dwelling of the Holy Spirit, Who sanctifies it and abides in it. Life in the Church is a continuous process (continued fulfilment) of the deification of humanity, and the fruit of this is holiness. Holiness comes from God to men. It is divine, not human, or natural in its substance and origin, but it is given to man in the Church and becomes granted to man in that sense. There exists no natural holiness without the Church, because holiness is a supernatural gift of God, though in actual life the word is often applied to express natural righteousness or the moral health of man. True holiness is a gift of Grace, of the abiding of the Holy Spirit in us. Grace does no violence to man, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear My voice and open the door I will come in to him" (Rev. III :20). This opening of the door is human effort and movement towards sanctification, a process which in individual men proceeds with varying success. In the Church's life there exist side by side tares and wheat—in the separate soul, as well as in life as a whole. The presence of sin and sinners in the Church is no hindrance to its holiness. On the contrary—it is a natural sequence of the process of sanctification

as of a struggle or an agreement between divine and human principles in the soul. The Church is really a "society of saints," because men are united in the Church only on the soil of holiness, in so much as it is accomplished in their lives—"Holy things to the holy," that is the exclamation of the priest before Holy Communion, and the communicants are sanctified for it and by it. The fact of holiness and its degrees are known only to God, not to men, but He reveals it to His Church, which glorifies the saints after their death. It is included in our faith in the Holy Church that the saints do exist in it, as a kind of golden girdle, during the whole time of its existence without any interruption. A few of the saints remained unknown to the world during their life, others were highly esteemed even by their contemporaries and canonized by the Church after their death. Doubt or denial of this would mean unbelief in the effectiveness of Grace and the spiritual strength of the Church which always acts in human hearts. What is the *"communio sanctorum"* which is confessed, though in a different sense, by all the churches? It means their communion in heaven, not only amongst themselves but also with the Church militant on earth. The living members of the Church are connected with the departed by love and prayer, and especially with those who are justified and glorified by God, after their death. Naturally our prayers are directed to them for their help by prayer and intercession before God, because they are our brethren by their humanity, but are mighty in their holiness and nearness to God. The veneration of the saints is not polytheistic paganism, but a true expression of the mutual love and prayer of all members of the Church. The saints are no mediators between Christ and us in the sense that they are a wall between us and Him and hinder any immediate relation. They are our eldest brethren who give us help and boldness before God. They are standing before God together with us as our friends and guardians, as those who belong to the same humanity as we do. The first of the whole humanity and its Head is the saintliest of saints, the Mother of God, Who gave Her body and blood, Her humanity to Her Son. *Communio sanctorum* is a bond of love and prayer which ties together as in a ring, all members of the Church, of the "heavenly Jerusalem" and "the general assembly" on earth (Heb. XII :2-23).

The holiness of the Church as *communio sanctorum* does not mean that sinners must be excluded from the Church. Our Saviour came not to save the righteous but the sinners who might be saved and sanctified by the Church. The state of man, at any given moment of his life is not a definite static one, because it can be changed. Our soul is a field where different plants are growing up and the final harvest of it is not known to man. But one thing

is true, without any doubt, that we are dwelling in the Church merely in the measure in which we are holy, in as much as we have an inner sincere movement of our heart towards God and receive an answer to it—God's grace in us. "The saints" is not only an honourable title given to Christian people, according to the Apostle Paul, it is also a call to holiness, which is our duty, and also the reality of the Church's life.

in an external sense—as the spreading of the Church in the whole world amongst all nations. This meaning is specially

The Church is *catholic*. This definition is generally understood characteristic of the Roman Catholic Church, for which the catholicity of the Church is to some extent identified with the universal power of the Pope and general submission to him. Of course such a kind of catholicity has its reasons, but in any case it is one-sided. The external universality of the Church is merely a manifestation of the inner one, which is certainly the most important. Catholicity τὸ καθ'ὅλον means, first of all, a quality not a quantity. To be καθ'ὅλοι signifies a connection of any separate being with the whole, as an essential principle of life, its οὐσία. This expression historically originates from Aristotle who means here the general idea of a thing, in distinction from its particular manifestations or separate copies of the same thing, τὸ καθ'ἕκαστον. This το καθ'ὅλον, which is understood by Aristotle in an abstract logical sense, as an abstract notion, is used by the Church in the concrete sense of a metaphysical reality, in accordance with Plato's philosophy and his doctrine of ideas (εἶδος). The catholicity of the Church implies the identity of the Church's life in any part. The Church is the Body of Christ and is inspired by the Holy Spirit. Christ and the Holy Ghost—that is τὸ καθ'ὅλον for it. The fullness and truth of this divine life in the Church is its catholicity. Yet there exists no contradiction between the *local* character of any church and its catholicity; on the contrary, every local, national, even domestic church, can be a catholic one. In such a manner we must consider the expressions of St. Paul—"all the churches of Asia (1 Cor. XVI:19), of Galatia (1 Cor. XVI:1), of Corinth (1 Cor. I:2), of Macedonia (2 Cor. I:8), of Cenchrea (Rom. XVI:1), even of the house of Aquila and Priscilla (1 Cor. XVI:19), of Asia and Archippus (1 Cor. XVI:19), and all the Churches of the Gentiles (Rom. XVI:4), and of Judæa (Gal. I:22). This using of the singular and plural in application to the *Church* shows that local churches are identified as *the Church*, and they all are the true Catholic Church in the same degree. They are not only different parts—small or large—of the one organization, similar to provinces in a State, but are the Church without any distinction in their catholicity, *pars pro toto*. They

are the different branches of a tree, which are living by the whole life of this tree, every one its special kind of life in its special place. Then the degree of the catholicity of a Church does not depend on the dimensions of the church, but merely on its fidelity to the truth. From the Orthodox point of view there is no contradiction between the fact of the existence of many autonomous or autokephalous, independent local churches and their catholicity as an interior quality of life. Of course it cannot be denied that this kind of unity is also favourable to an external catholicity or a universal organization of the Church. But this tendency comes *second*, it is derived and not original.

This definition of the Church as a Catholic one has its own particular destinies in Russian theology. It acquired here not only a metaphysical sense, but likewise a sociological or ecclesiological one. This shade of meaning is connected with a special use of this word in the Slavonic translation of the Nicene Creed. It is interesting to note here that the different shades of understanding of the idea of catholicity in the Western and the Eastern Churches finds its origin in the different kind of pronunciation of the Greek word— καθολίκος, or, more exactly of one letter in this word: θ. The Roman Catholics, together with the whole of the Western world pronounce it as *t*, catolic, and the Orthodox pronounce it as θ: θolic. But in addition to this the Russian Church has this word as well in Slavonic translation: *sobornaya:* that means first of all a gathering or "councilling," getting together, a collective being united. To say the least this is an inaccuracy, if not an actual mistake, but it is a Providential one,[1] because this word, according to Khomiakoff, contains a whole theology. Catholicity as "*sobornost*" means that the Church is a oneness of many in love and freedom. The truth is only revealed to such a unity, as it is expressed in the exclamation which precedes in our Liturgy the chanting of the Creed: "let us love one another that with one accord we may confess." The body of Christ, which is the Church, is only recognized as such through this consciousness of many as of one in love. Life in the Church is an act and process of spiritual gathering, which assumes different forms and degrees. The Church is a spiritual organism, the life of which is quickened by the Holy Spirit. This organic and collective (*soborny*) character of the Church is a starting point in our doctrine of the Church. Though the Church is an hierarchical organization, the hierarchy, as such, does not define the being of the Church, as it is taught in the Roman Church. The hierarchy exists *in* the Church, but not *over* the Church. Its

[1] We have another case of a Providential "mistake" in the translation of our Liturgy. The words of offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice περὶ πάντων καὶ κατὰ πάντα which mean in Greek—because of that (all reasons) and on behalf of them, are translated in Russian "on behalf of all and for all (things and sins)."

representatives are very important and necessary members of the Church's organism, but the body itself—as the whole—exists prior to its particular members, and not vice versa. In this sense the entire body has more authority for the Church than the hierarchy in all domains, except that of special charismatical gifts, which are essential to ecclesiastical degrees—namely—the sacramental power. Even this power is also given to the whole Church, which really performs the sacraments through the mediation of its priesthood. This prerogative of the hierarchy in the church must not be enlarged so as to include the infallibility of dogmatic teaching. The Roman Church has recognized such an infallible authority in questions of faith and morality in the person of the Pope. Somehow this Catholic doctrine influenced some Orthodox circles too. A few of the Orthodox theologians and most of the more important hierarchs and bishops share this Roman Catholic idea—with this limitation—that not the Pope alone, but the hierarchy as a whole has a right and duty of doctrinal teaching and infallibility in it. The truth of the Church is uttered through their mouth, and their voice is the voice of the Church. Such a doctrine might be understood as a kind of collective popery. The only difference between Romanism and Orthodoxy would be that in the Roman Church the Pope alone has the same power which is ascribed in Orthodoxy to a body of bishops gathered in convocation, synod or council. The bishops would then have power over the Church to prescribe their definitions. Nevertheless this doctrine is in contradiction to history, which witnesses to the fact that many bishops and even patriarchs were amongst the heretics. There existed even false Œcumenical Councils, like those of Ephesus (the so-called " Robber Council ") and of Florence. This showed that they were possible and there was room for them in history. Modern Orthodoxy no longer shares this doctrine—that there can exist an external organ of the infallibility of the Church, or that a gathering of bishops or even a council itself is a mechanical apparatus of infallibility, a *deus ex machina,* a kind of dogmatic oracle. In the Epistle of the Eastern Patriarchs of 1849, which is a dogmatic document of first value to Orthodoxy, it is said : " the conservation of the truth in our Church is committed to the whole of the church's people, not only to hierarchs." We must emphasize our deepest conviction that the idea of any external dogmatic authority in the Church is a superstition which must be set aside for all time. It is true that the œcumenical and local councils in ancient times as a rule were composed of bishops, though there were many exceptions. But the bishops were considered then as witnesses and representatives of their own local churches, but not as their commanders. The definitions of these councils were received—or not received—by the whole body of the

Church, not at once on their conclusion. We know that a long time was necessary for this recognition, and discussions and struggles did not cease after the councils. The Councils never had such an external authority in the Church as is claimed at present by the Roman See. Certainly those Councils called Œcumenical were the most authoritative organ both of the Church's judgment and for its definitions. But this authority was ascribed to them only on the acceptance of the whole Church, maintained by the Holy Spirit. One must not forget that the Councils are not the only means used by the Church for its dogmatic teaching and definitions. Orthodoxy has many doctrines which have never been proclaimed at any Council, but which are held in the Church's life. The significance and authority of councils is merely a conditional one, it must be acknowledged by the whole Church, which has also other ways for its expression. It is quite natural, therefore, because of this, that the last Russian Council in Moscow of 1917-18 had amongst its members not only bishops, but priests and laymen likewise.

We see then that the idea of catholicity in modern Russian understanding contains a radical refusal to accept any kind of ecclesiastical despotism, without any essential limitation or diminution of the true authority of the hierarchy. Catholicity as *"sobornost"* is a spiritual hedge of the Church's freedom and love.

The Church is *Apostolic*. What does this apostolicity mean? It can be understood in different senses—in relation to apostolic succession, or to apostolic tradition, or—to the apostolic spirit and power. Its simplest sense is the apostolic succession of the hierarchy. The general conviction of all episcopalian or hierarchical churches is that they maintain an unbroken, direct, charismatic succession of episcopacy throughout the history of the Church from the apostolic times to the present day. The first laying on of hands was made by the Apostles and this has continued till our times without any break or interruption. The sacramental life of the Church has an apostolic source, because all sacraments are performed by bishops of apostolic consecration and their clergy. This is an order of ecclesiastical life established by God through the Apostles. Now apostolic succession may not be necessarily understood as a direct institution of the three ecclesiastical degrees—of bishops, priests and deacons—by the apostles in the modern sense. It is very difficult to find in the New Testament and in the writings of the Apostolic age a direct witness to this which would exclude any doubt. The indications we find do not clearly distinguish the ecclesiastical degrees, and in any case they cannot be identified with our distinctions of them to day. Only at the end of the first century and in the beginning of the second can we make certain of the existence of the episcopate in our sense

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of the word and of clergy being ordained by it. The impression we get is that the boundless gifts of the Holy Spirit which were given to the Primitive Church immediately after Pentecost, at first took on no regular forms. Only later on they began to be regulated. The process of this regulation gradually led up to the hierarchical organization of the Church. The hierarchy does not arise as something new which did not exist in the Apostolic times. It is established according to Apostolic tradition and consists of an apostolic laying on of hands. The grace of episcopacy is given to the Church through the Apostles. But according to the testimony of history the form of this institution was not founded immediately and in a completely developed form. It can be easily understood that ecclesiastical life does not at once find its own appropriate form even if it has its origin from the Apostles. Protestants insist on the fact that our episcopacy does not exist in history right from the beginning. They draw the conclusion from this fact that its later institution cannot therefore be primitive and apostolic and that therefore it is superfluous and not obligatory for the Church. Without denying the fact of the comparatively later origin of a regular hierarchy, we do not share their conclusion. Even historically such a sudden appearance of episcopacy and its doctrinal assertion cannot be explained, otherwise than through the apostolic tradition, though not immediately. The idea of apostolic succession implies chiefly the apostolic origin of hierarchical organization, and of apostolic succession only in a general sense. The first consecrator was Jesus Christ Himself, Who ordained the Apostles as the first hierarchs of the whole Church, when on His appearance He " breathed on them and said to them : receive ye the Holy Ghost" (John XX : 22). This general ordination received its full strength and confirmation at Pentecost and was realized for the whole of the Church in the apostolic succession in a general sense. This is the Divine fact which the Church has in historic episcopate. Then the first significance of the apostolicity of the Church is the apostolic succession of the episcopate and of the entire priesthood.

The second aspect of this apostolicity is the general holy tradition of the Church in doctrine and practice. According to the common belief of the Church all the teaching of the Church and its institutions received their origin from our Saviour Himself, through the Apostles : " He through the Holy Ghost had given commandments unto the Apostles whom He had chosen " (Acts I : 2). In this sense the whole of the Church's tradition is apostolic, nothing can be in the Church which is not apostolic. But it would be untrue to carry this thought to the extreme and look for an apostolic origin of everything. Such extremes are proper to Roman Catholicism, though sometimes they are not

foreign to Orthodox theology. In Roman theology, for example, it is ascertained that *all* sacraments were directly instituted by our Saviour (Tridentium sess. VII. can.1). Of course this assertion is unable to change the fact that not all the Christian sacraments were in fact instituted by Christ Himself, at least not so far as it is recorded in the Gospels. The only conclusion which remains possible is that our Saviour instituted them by word of mouth through the apostles who passed them on to their successors, who, in turn, did the same, and so they went on until our day. But such a dogmatic affirmation is in contradiction with the evident and incontestable fact of history—that Church practice and liturgical rites and doctrines of different sacraments were developed gradually and acquired their definite form rather late and not at the outset, as it were at the first stroke. Our opinion is that to maintain the apostolicity of tradition it is quite unnecessary to deny the historical evidence or to make fictitious facts dogmatic, replacing real history by them. It is true all things in the Church have their apostolic origin, but it would be an error to interpret this naively—as if everything had arisen from the apostles in a full and set form. In such a case we would have to interpret the work of the apostles as that of wise legislators who made ready laws and formulæ for every single case. Such an unhistorical interpretation stands in complete contradiction to the very idea of holy *tradition*, because tradition is not a passive and obedient conservation of external law, but always a living inspired extension of the past in the present. Holy tradition is not contrary to historic development. The river is the same at its source and at its mouth, though its breadth and depth may be different. The seed and the plant are also identical in a sense, though they are entirely different in their external appearance. The apostolic tradition really contains all the seeds of the possibilities of Church life, but it leaves their appearance in a developed form to future history. The same question or idea arises when we consider the problem of whether dogmatic development is possible, or whether new dogmas can be proclaimed. The question must be answered in the affirmative and in the negative sense at the same time. On the one hand, there is no new teaching in the one Church's tradition. On the other hand we observe in the history of the Church that its dogmatic teaching is in a continuous development and that new dogmatic formulæ are constantly being found. Both the givenness and the development or discovery of dogmas—exist in the Church. And this discovery does not cease to be an *apostolic* tradition. In this sense the definitions of the First Œcumenical Council about ὁμοούσιος are *apostolic*, though the apostles themselves, historically, could not have anticipated them. Nevertheless, the ὁμοούσιος as the other definitions of the Seven Œcumenical Councils express the

Apostolic teaching, though the apostles themselves were not conscious of this, and the fathers of the Councils were quite justified when they proclaimed: "that is a faith true, apostolic and according to the fathers." Such a broadening of the idea of apostolic tradition which is evidently necessary, leads us consequently to a more organic comprehension of apostolicity itself. The apostolicity of the Church implies not only a direct inheritance of teaching and institutions from the apostles, but likewise—and this is perhaps still more important—the fullness of apostolic gifts, given to the whole of the Church in Pentecost through the apostles. Then apostolicity is Pentecost, in which the apostles were representatives of the whole Church. Pentecost is not only an event within a definite time, but a continued act in all times of the church's existence. The Church has apostolic power and inspiration. The Church is not concentrated in the person of the Pope, who claims to be a living continuation (so to speak) of the Apostle Peter, it is not even concentrated in the entire episcopate, as in a kind of collective Pope, but it is diffused through the whole body of Christ, in its organic unity of the hierarchy with the clergy and laymen. The Spirit does not acknowledge definite external means for the inspiration of the Church, because "the spirit bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth, so it is with everyone that is born of the Spirit" (John III :8). The Church is always being inspired by the Spirit, and His tongues, like as it were of fire, are flashing here and there on chosen heads, at the decisive moments. Through such inspiration the Church becomes apostolic not only passively—in conservation—but actively—in creative efforts and tasks. Apostolicity is an act and process, and the life of the apostolic church never, therefore, remains static, for it is always renewed.

We now have, in these times, a new call of apostolic inspiration in the life of the universal Church—that is the call to Reunion. The Church which realizes, or seeks to realize its unity amongst divisions, becomes really more apostolic than before. Even in the primitive Church, in the work of the apostles themselves, some misunderstandings and differences could arise—Petrinism and Paulinism, and these were overcome at the apostolic Council in Jerusalem. This was a victory of the apostolic spirit, and a true expression of the apostolicity of the Church. Let us now—Orthodox and Anglicans—attain in our meeting here to this true spirit of reunion.

REPORT ON THE AMERICAN AID TO STRENGTHEN AND ENRICH THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

By EDGAR MACNAUGHTEN.

AT this moment the Church of the Redeemer in Moscow, the cathedral in which met the All-Russian Church Council in 1917-1918, is being demolished. It has been the outstanding symbol of the strength and prominence of the Orthodox Church in Russia. The act of destruction of the edifice is the symbol of the Godless Society in Russia that the Church is doomed.

At this same hour as guests of Lambeth Palace the bishops of the several Orthodox Churches are again conferring with the Anglican Church for the sake of closer fellowship and eventual Church reunion.

The "Academy Fund" has been a token in America of the conviction of Christian friends that the spiritual forces of the great Russian communion shall not die out. In Paris the outstanding symbol for a future spiritual and intellectual leadership of the Russian Church is the Russian Orthodox Theological Academy.

On June thirtieth the first year of the American Budget on Behalf of the Russian Orthodox Theological Academy and its allied interests was completed. A total of $11,492 was actually contributed by five committees in the following cities: Boston, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia and Washington. The goal was $16,200; unfortunately, a supposedly bona-fide pledge of $2,000 was by force of circumstances uncollectable. There is some hope of its being redeemed at a later date. By sharp curtailment of other projects other than the Academy no deficit occurred; however, worthy and pressing objects suffered.

It should be mentioned that the Academy was founded in 1925 and that a special gift from an American source, aside from funds raised in England, made possible the growth of this spiritual centre on behalf of a distressed and suffering communion. As a result of personal visitation to several eastern cities this past year three new committees were formed to augment the splendid record of two cities, namely, New Haven and Boston, which had been sharing in the programme for three years. The Boston Committee under the leadership of Bishop Sherrill has annually set $4,000 as its goal; the donation is designated for the seminary. An active group in New York with Admiral Belknap as chairman, and Stephen Baker as treasurer, has led the cities in the amount of contributions; in Philadelphia and Washington, Dr. John Mockridge and Mr. Radford Coyle have been the respective chairmen.

The major emphasis of the "Fund" has been the preparation of a future intellectually trained priesthood for the Orthodox Church.

With a budget project of $9,000, actually $8,242 was paid over to the Academy treasury for the collegiate year ending June 30th. In addition another $400 carried scholarships for two students in the institution. Before assurance of additional funds was brought to the faculty on my return from America in March, the professors had voluntarily cut their salaries 15% and 20% to make ends meet. They had attempted to save nearly two thousand dollars. This is best appreciated by understanding that one of the highest paid professors who was supporting his wife and mother was getting originally but $80 a month. With an already insufficient allowance he took a cut of $15. Others with salary reductions were attempting to carry on with $50 a month; as a result of my insistence their salaries were restored on a retroactive basis.

Students not only this year but since the opening of the Academy are fed on thirty cents a day. They are all crowded in three dormitory rooms. The treasurer of the Boston Committee marvelled that students had the courage to study under such adverse conditions. Bishop Perry after his personal visit remarked that he had never seen such poverty-stricken conditions among theological students, who, he added, were "packed in like sardines." In spite of it all, last year thirty-five applications were made for entrance; only fourteen could be admitted to the first year course due to the lack of funds for maintenance. Most students, as a result of the revolution, are unable to count upon financial assistance from parents and must be carried by the seminary. Forty-five students in the four courses were registered; this year but thirty-nine were taken because of the financial stringency. One of this number is doing special graduate work in England.

The Academy has been enriched by an addition of 500 volumes from Vienna and then more recently by 1532 books composing an important Russian theological library, formerly assembled in Prague. This latter library is the special gift of the British Appeal Committee.

Some necessary repairs and improvements were made this summer, thanks to a more favourable balance in the treasury which was due to the timely aid from the newer American committees.

The total budget of the Theological Academy was approximately $19,000, toward which the Russians in their poverty contributed over $2,600, and Anglicans in England gave upwards of $8,000; in addition the British Appeal Committee which is responsible for the Anglican gifts makes special grants at intervals. Numbered on the faculty are eminent scholars of old Russia, Father Sergius Bulgakov being the most outstanding; there are six professors, seven occasional lecturers and two Romance language instructors. This year a former student who has spent two years of graduate study in Old Testament at Oxford has been added to the staff.

Here in Paris is to be found the only theological academy in full

standing for the Russian Orthodox Church, whether it be in Soviet Russia or abroad. The students come not merely from the emigration but from the border states of Russia namely, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Poland, where there are autonomous churches. A plan is now being considered to offer some courses in French so as to serve the various Orthodox students from the Balkans who are in Paris for further study. This spiritual centre can thus aid the Orthodox communion at large—old Russia was the inspiration of numerous present-day Church leaders of the Balkan countries.

There are five outstanding reasons for helping these people in refugee life to maintain such a spiritual centre :

1. The first is to prepare priests for the numerous Russian refugee colonies scattered throughout Europe, which to-day are without spiritual guidance. It is estimated there is one priest for every seven thousand refugees.
2. With all theological training suppressed within Russia, there is imperative need to prepare students as a reserve corps for future Russia, as the churches will be destitute of intellectually trained priests. The Russian Church numbered fifty thousand parishes.
3. With the schools and universities fast becoming the atheistic citadels because of atheistic teachers, there is a demand for educating abroad young men who with theological training will prepare themselves for the teaching profession, that they may meet the issues more intelligently in future Russia.
4. The Academy offers to theological professors and scholarly priests the opportunity for creative thinking and for the continuity and preservation of theological thought and tradition on behalf of the Russian Orthodox Church now under persecution.
5. The Academy in Paris affords an unusual opportunity for priests and scholars to exchange thought with the Anglican communion. An annual conference is held near London where one hundred delegates including bishops, priests, and theological students assemble for intimate fellowship. Russian students are receiving scholarships in theological schools in England and America. Unhurried visits by Western church leaders are made to the Academy. A real spiritual fellowship is in process and there is an insistent demand for better understanding between the two communions.

Students who have passed through the Academy now number seventy-four. Of these, twenty-seven are priests, ten are readers in the Church, nine are in preparation for ordination and four are still pursuing graduate study.

This year one of the former students was sent out to India as a

priest to serve the Russian invalid farm and to make contact with the ancient Syrian Church of India. Another was ordained to be sent to Canada to minister to the Ukrainians. In the North of France a young priest has likewise gone out to do home missionary work. His parish is scattered in four places; he has mostly workmen and their families; two hundred children are under his influence. They are Orthodox, not merely Russian, but Serbian, Roumanian, Greek and Bulgarian. He is radiant in spirit; his salary of $37 supports a family of three. Truly some of these graduates are examples of unselfishness—emigré life does not assure them the normal comfort, but the maintenance of the spiritual forces among their scattered people is their motivation.

Religious Education

The Religious Educational Bureau has completed its fourth year under the forward-looking leadership of Professor Zenkovsky who, as a professor of psychology at the Theological Academy, has seen, ever since his study period at Yale in 1926, the importance of religious pedagogy for Russian children. Associated with him have been two assistants who have received salary while Prof. Zenkovsky gives his time as a volunteer.

The early days of the Bureau required considerable thought in laying plans and preparing articles to acquaint the Russian circles with this new idea of voluntary religious education. Care was taken lest misunderstanding develop that this new undertaking was not genuinely Orthodox in thought and expression. With the full confidence of Metropolitan Evlogie strides have been made. Yet there is still much pioneering to be done in this comparatively speaking virgin soil. The staff has been formulating the basic principles of Orthodox pedagogy.

It is not merely in the Russian Orthodox Church but in the Orthodox Communion at large that the principles and basis of religious pedagogy are not clear. In November last year in Salonika there assembled Orthodox Church leaders at work with youth; to this assembly five Russian delegates went including the entire Bureau staff and two additional field workers. In session a prominent Greek professor raised the question of even discussing the subject of Orthodox Religious Education as there was no foundation for such discussion. This re-enforces the fact that it is pioneer work. Outgrowing this conference to which the Academy Fund contributed a small amount for travel expenses there has come a demand for collaboration among the Orthodox lands in this realm. The Russian Bureau contributed much to this conference—it issued two pamphlets in French for preparation of the delegates. The staff prepared papers on :—

(a) Principles of Orthodox Pedagogy
(b) Church and Youth
(c) Pastor and Youth
(d) Youth in Soviet Russia
(e) Modern Youth

The Bureau's plan calls for an even more inter-Orthodox religious educational conference than that at Salonika.

The Russian Bureau seeks to maintain international contacts with Catholic and Protestant Movements in Germany, Switzerland, England and America.

The practice ground of the Bureau is with the theological students at the Academy where two of the staff have lectured and conducted seminaries. It is furthermore in closest touch with the Christian Movement whose outreach is to the children, boys and girls of the emigration. Suggested outlines for Bible study circles have been prepared; collaboration with workers among youth has resulted in more clearly defined principles and methods of education.

Included in this religious educational budget is the part salary of the Church School worker, Miss Shidlovsky, whose study period in Columbia helped prepare her for her leadership. Last year a two months' period at St. Christopher's College in England gave her further stimulus, particularly with subject material. Her school on Thursdays and Sundays for approximately one hundred children from three years of age upwards has been a model for modern methods of teaching.

The Bishop of Gibraltar had met her in Nice and, when en route to England, he called at the Russian Centre in Paris to see the School. As he presented a generous fund which he himself had collected in his diocese, he said: "When I heard of a modern religious educational school for the Russian Orthodox Church, I became interested and I wanted to help."

Emigré life offers many problems, not the least of which is the upbringing of small children in poverty-stricken homes; especially is this so in homes of mixed marriages where children often speak French better than Russian. Scattered about in Catholic or non-religious schools they are denied their own church life and teachings. The Russian Church School in Paris with others in the suburbs are therefore a wholesome factor. Other schools have been opened by the Christian Movement in Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Germany and the Baltics—the movement counts 1,200 children in such special schools. Through a yearly conference of leaders at work with youth, whether in Sunday Schools, boys' and girls' clubs, camps or Boy Scout troops, principles and methods of religious instruction are discussed. There is being evolved an Orthodox religious pedagogy based on experience.

Another problem offered by emigration is that Russian children are scattered in small groups in all parts of Europe. The Church School worker has prepared a correspondence course in religious education which helps her maintain contacts with some one hundred children in Egypt, Morocco, Africa, and even Norway. Some priests are using this material for their visitation while covering their scattered parishes.

Toward this unique religious educational endeavour the Academy Fund had provision for $2,400; actually only $1,625 was granted. This department suffered most heavily as the $2,000 pledge referred to at the outset was assigned to this undertaking. As a result the religious educational projects are in jeopardy unless relief is secured.

Spiritual and Intellectual Movement in Emigration

To a large measure the spiritual and intellectual Movement which has burst forth in the emigration has been due to the vision and inspirational qualities of chosen Christian professors and scholarly priests who have been encouraged to visit university centres, Russian colonies in Europe and summer Christian conferences.

The Russian Christian culture is dying out with the older generation—within the present student class there must be found replacements to share in the leadership now held by Father Bulgakov, Professors Berdiaev, Vysheslavtsev and Zenkovsky. These journeys to the Baltics and Balkans have produced results. A bi-product has been the discovery of students volunteering for the priesthood and eventually coming to the Paris Theological School.

Not only have these Russian leaders of thought awakened the intelligentsia to a new loyalty to the Church but they have brought fresh messages to their sister Orthodox communions. There is a growing recognition of the need for closer fellowship between these respective Orthodox communions for the actual realization of the oneness of all Orthodox Churches. There is a consciousness that the time has come when there should be heard not the voice of the Greek, not the voice of the Roumanian, nor of the Russian Church but that of one Orthodox Church.

For such visitation to Russian conferences and centres was set aside $1,000 but only $321 was spent, on trips to the Baltics, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia.

Another item closely associated with the above is that of Church and Russian Student Summer conferences. Each year the Russian Student Christian Movement has six such conferences in various parts of Europe—they are the high-water periods of the year's work. The spiritual tide is to be observed at such gatherings. It is like living water to thirsty souls. In spite of hardships endured one delegate said this last July: "We are not craving comforts but Christian culture."

In this realm of conferences perhaps the international assemblies of social and spiritual significance stand out as particularly important in relation to church fellowship and eventual unity. Each year Russian delegates are sharing with Protestants and Catholics in student conferences seriously confronted by the question of œcumenism. The Orthodox have much to give and much to receive. For two years now the French Student Movement and Russian students have exchanged convictions; the fifth Anglo-Russian fellowship at High Leigh for a week was of peculiar significance in the light of the Lambeth conversations with the Orthodox bishops. The value of these intimate contacts is best illustrated by the following paragraph from a Russian theological student sent as a delegate to the British Student Movement conference especially planned for divinity students, and then to the Anglican Annual conference on Social problems held at Oxford. He wrote: "I have just come back to Wallsend. Swanwick and Oxford are the highest periods I ever had in emigré life. In Swanwick I left part of my soul . . . This time spent in England has been the most pleasant experience in my life."

Toward fostering this growing fellowship and understanding on the part of the Anglican and Orthodox communions the Fund has shared in small part the scholarship of Mr. Zernov now entering his second year at Oxford. He is expecting to receive his Doctorate of Philosophy next June specializing on Church History and Unity. With a background of a theological course in Belgrade followed by five years as a secretary in the Russian Student Christian Movement, he enters this special field of study with the thorough confidence of the Russian Academy and of the Anglican friends who had come to know him through a six-months stay at Mirfield. Mr. Zernov's address at the Liverpool assembly of theological students was credited as being one of the best. He was a delegate at the recent continuation meeting of the Lausanne Conference. One hundred dollars was contributed toward his scholarship although six hundred was anticipated.

Father Bulgakov of the Academy is taking active part in the continuation work of the Stockholm and Lausanne conferences.

With England so near to Paris, this exchange of visits is more readily effected. For the Episcopalian clergymen of America especially, this fellowship with the young generation of Orthodox priests is particularly to be encouraged. Next year, there is to be in Paris in late June an American-Russian Theological Student conference. At General Theological Seminary in New York a Russian graduate of the Paris Academy spent a year. Professor Gavin wrote, "every single person who has come into touch with Dimitri Klepinin has fallen in love with him. He is the best possible example of Orthodox devotion that could have been sent us." The "Fund" provided $230 this past year. Already a Russian student in the third

year course in Paris is provisionally selected to be at the General Theological Seminary beginning next fall; it will cost $700 to make this valuable contact possible.

Before Americans and British the door of opportunity is flung wide open to bring about Church unity—to help consummate the efforts of Bishop Brent and others. The provisions in the Academy Fund are concrete tasks to give momentum to this realization of the growing spiritual fellowship. To no one in emigration is this more clearly seen than by Metropolitan Evlogie. Coming to the Summer Student Conference on the day of the death of Archbishop Soderblom, the Metropolitan made the contribution of Archbishop Soderblom to the cause of œcumenism the sole subject of his message to his youthful listeners. He felt the loss of a close friend. As he finished, the entire conference stood and read a prayer which was followed by that heart-moving hymn, "Eternal Memory." At the suggestion of a graduate theological student who had spent various periods in England with Anglican friends, a Panikhida (a special prayer service for the departed) was held on the following day. There was no thought that a Lutheran leader had passed on—it was the loss of a Christian leader who had served the Church at large.

The foregoing is a résumé of the Academy Fund year. The new academic year with its budget needs of $16,000 awaits an answer. Bishop James DeWolf Perry who personally visited the Paris Seminary following the Lambeth Conference, made the following statement:

> "I have had occasion recently to visit the Russian Theological Academy in Paris, to meet the officers and members of the faculty, and to learn of the extraordinary opportunity there offered for the reinforcement of the priesthood of the Russian Orthodox Church. The need for maintenance and for increased equipment is very great. The importance of the work cannot be exaggerated. I trust that generous and continued support of the people of our church will be offered for the sustenance of this institution."